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ABSTRACT

This monograph deals with the philosophical and idealogical development of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) during the years of Ned Corbett's leadership of the organization--from its founding in 1935 to his retirement in 1951. The first stage of transformation of the CAAE is discussed in terms of the association changing from a clearinghouse and information center to assuming a direct programming role in the field of citizenship education. Next, numerous quotations from directors' reports are presented to show the development of a second stage of the association as a social reform movement. The 1943 Manifesto, with its statement of seven principles, and Corbett's 1947 principles of adult education are presented. Programs and services provided by the association are described and examples of the thinking of the times are quoted from Adult Learning and Food for Thought. Reviewed next are the publications program in connection with Farm Radio Forum and Citizen's Forum and the association's relationship to other organizations through the Joint Planning Commission. Following a discussion of selected briefs representing lobbying activities is a summary of the Corbett years, the central themes of which were citizenship education, rural adult education, and Canadian nationalism. An extensive bibliography is provided. (BJB)

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OCCASIONAL PAPERS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

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THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CORBETT YEARS: A RE-EVALUATION

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Centre for Continuing Education
The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

September 1981

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ABOUT THIS SERIES AND THIS PAPER

This Occasional Paper is the twentieth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing monographs which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

The author of this paper, Gordon R. Selman, is Associate Professor in Adult Education at U.B.C. His major research interest is the history and development of adult education in Canada and particularly in British Columbia. During the last few years he has been engaged in a long-term research project on the history of adult education in British Columbia. His research interest also includes the history of the national and provincial associations for adult education.

Gordon Selman has published numerous articles on historical aspects of adult education in Canada, among these articles concerned with the development of the field in Canada and in British Columbia, the extension work at this University and a series of articles on the pioneering days of adult education in this Province. The Canadian Association for Adult Education published his monograph A History of Fifty Years of Extension Service of The University of British Columbia, 1915 to 1965. His papers Toward Co-operation: The Development of a Provincial Voice for Adult Education in British Columbia, 1953 to 1962; Adult Education in Vancouver Before 1914; A Decade of Transition: The Extension Department of The University of British Columbia 1960 to 1970; and Adult Education in British Columbia During the Depression were published earlier in this series of Occasional Papers.

This paper deals insightfully with the philosophical and ideological development of the Canadian Association for Adult Education from its founding in 1935 to the retirement in 1951 of its first director, E.A. "Ned" Corbett whose vision and commitment to the common man and the democratic process provided the CAAE with strong leadership during the first sixteen years of its existence.

I am pleased to make this paper available to a wider readership.

Jindra Kulich
Director

FOREWORD

The Canadian Association for Adult Education has the longest continuous history of any national adult education organization in the world. Founded in the depression years, it has played a leadership role ever since in the adult education movement in Canada. Unlike many counterpart organizations in other countries, many of which engage mainly in clearing house activities and the provision of support services to practitioners, the Canadian body became actively engaged in direct programming for adult learners. Its activities in this connection, most notably National Farm Radio Forum and Citizen's Forum, attracted world-wide attention and were adapted for use in many other countries. The CAAE also played a vigorous part in the formative years of Canadian nationhood following the Second World War in helping to promote the development of a distinctive cultural identity in Canada, by means of its major project, the Joint Planning Commission, and in other ways.

This monograph is not a history of these projects, nor of the CAAE itself. It is rather an attempt to trace the philosophical or ideological development of the CAAE during the years of E.A. "Ned" Corbett's leadership of the organization, from its founding in 1935 to his retirement in 1951. These were troubling and exciting years in the history of Canada; years of depression, of World War II and the emergence of a more vigorous Canadian nation, and years of vibrant post-war development.

Three major studies already exist of Corbett and the Corbett years. Ned Corbett himself wrote an episodic autobiography, We Have With Us Tonight. David Armstrong, an Australian, wrote his M.A. thesis in 1968 on the CAAE during the Corbett years and Ron Faris has since published the most significant interpretive study we have on adult education in this country, The Passionate Educators, largely about the Corbett period as well.

Why another treatment of this period? For one thing, because of its importance as a time when adult education and the CAAE were providing vigorous leadership in their sphere of influence in matters of central concern to the larger Canadian society. Secondly, some significant further sources of

information, not available to earlier writers, have since appeared. And finally--and most important of all--any serious student of such matters, the present author included, has the feeling that scholars before him, as enlightened and well informed as they may have been, did not get it "quite right".

Gordon Selman

THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN THE CORBETT YEARS: A RE-EVALUATION

The Early Years and the Commitment to Citizenship Education

The Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE) was formally established in 1935, but events leading up to its formation went back almost a decade prior to that. Frederick P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and his assistant, Morse A. Cartright, had been instrumental in launching the American Association for Adult Education in 1926 and encouraging the creation of a Canadian national adult education organization was discussed by the two of them at least as early as the same year.(Armstrong 1968:12) C.M. MacInnes, a Canadian who was teaching in Great Britain and who represented Canada on the Council of the World Association for Adult Education, edited a book for the Association entitled Adult Education in the Dominions, which appeared in 1929. MacInnes wrote the section dealing with Canada and in it he stated that there soon would be need for a national organization for the field in Canada.(MacInnes 1929:40) An historian of the early years of the CAAE, David Armstrong, states that MacInnes was prompted to take this stand by Morse Cartright.(Armstrong 1968:24) Three years later, Cartright was expressing some impatience with the "dilatory tactics of the Canadians" with respect to the matter. By means of a grant to the American Association, the Carnegie Corporation made it possible for eight Canadians (two in 1932 and six the following year) to visit Scandinavia to study the folk school movement. They were to make a report to the Corporation and make recommendations as to what they thought could be done to foster the adult education movement in Canada. In the meantime, Keppel and Cartright had taken the matter up directly with three Canadian leaders, W.J. Dunlop, Drummond Wren and W.L. Grant, while they were attending the meeting of the American body in Buffalo in May of 1932.

Dunlop, who was Director of University Extension at the University of Toronto, took the lead by calling a meeting of Canadians in late May, 1934, stating in advance that the objective was "to establish a national clearing house for adult education". At the suggestion of Cartright, Dunlop proposed a three stage process leading towards the formal establishment of the new organization. The initial conference was to establish an organizing committee which would conduct a survey of adult education activities in Canada and

investigate the feasibility of a national organization for the field. This would then be followed by a further conference to hear the committee's report and make a decision about an organization.

Throughout this whole process, which culminated in mid-June of 1935, when a conference at Macdonald College decided to create the CAAE, it is clear that the emphasis in the minds of those taking part was on a clearing house type of organization, one that would strengthen professional concerns in the field. Keppel and Cartright clearly had such an organization in mind.(Armstrong 1968:17) The call for the 1934 conference referred to creating a "clearing house". The report on the national survey, which was edited by Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto, argued for the co-ordination of adult education and a stronger role on the part of the provincial governments.(Sandiford 1935: Chapt XXp.3ff.) And when the CAAE was established, its stated goals were as follows:

1. To serve as a clearing house and to maintain a working library.
2. To develop interest by means of publications, radio, conferences.
3. To suggest methods and improve the work in adult education.
4. To provide for study and research.
5. To undertake experiments and demonstrations.
6. To advise grant-giving bodies, educational trusts, and private donors regarding the status of any organization which makes application for a grant. (I. Wilson in Kidd 1950:42)

There is a clear preponderance of professional concerns in this statement.

In the first issue of Adult Learning, the journal which was launched by the CAAE in late 1936, both the "Foreword" by Sir Robert Falconer, the Honorary President, and an editorial by Dunlop, the first President, in referring to the functions of the organization, make no mention of the social goals of the adult education movement, referring only to the need for more effective communications in the field.(Adult Learning, Nov.1936:2-4) Looking back in 1943 from the vantage point of seven years experience in the organization (and at a time when a strikingly different approach was being taken) E.A. Corbett observed that the original intention of the founders of the organization was that it be "a clearing house in all matters relating to adult education".(Director's Report 1943:3) He wrote a year later that the CAAE had subsequently "moved out of the Ivory Tower".(Corbett 1944a:1) In 1935, the goals of the organization focussed

on adult education itself, not on society as a whole.

By 1935, when the CAAE was formed, there was already a great deal of adult education going on in all parts of the country. The Sandiford survey of 1935 had confirmed that fact, if proof was needed, although the survey provided only a partial picture of what was actually happening.[1] The organization was formed in the depression years, a period during which many national voluntary organizations came into being (Ostry 1978:47), and one might have expected greater evidence of the social reform tradition in adult education in the founding documents of the new organization--especially in view of its subsequent history. Perhaps the explanation lies partly in the fact that the majority of the key figures in the new organization represented the interests of the universities and government services and that they tended to have in common a desire to improve the efficiency of practice, not a commitment to a common social goal. Also, there having previously been no satisfactory means of communication within the field across the country, it is not surprising that purposes related to communication should at least initially be given priority. The Carnegie Corporation officers clearly had some influence in the process too, the statement of the new Association's functions, which was approved by the executive in October, 1935, having been originally drafted by Morse Cartright, who was also present at the meeting.(Armstrong 1968:46-49) The American Association, which had also been supported by Carnegie from its founding in the previous decade, had a similar set of goals.

If there was a clear priority at the outset for the CAAE, over and above the specific matters covered in the statement of goals, it was to help improve the adult education opportunities in rural areas. The Sandiford survey had taken note of this need and Corbett, whose professional experience in Alberta had given him considerable experience in rural work, was receptive to that idea. The CAAE consistently emphasized rural educational needs for at least fifteen years after its founding.(Faris 1975:26,28)

The first and long-time Director of the CAAE, E.A. "Ned" Corbett, was one of the great charismatic leaders of adult education in Canada. He dominated the CAAE, and to some extent, the adult education movement as well. It is perhaps characteristic of small organizations that the paid director, especially when he or she has a strong personality and point of view, dominates the affairs of the organization. Certainly this was true of Corbett, and his successors Roby Kidd and Alan Thomas.

Corbett had strong views about society and the role which adult education should play in moulding it. He had graduated from a Presbyterian Theological College but subsequently decided that the ministry was not for him. He did possess, however, as Faris has put it, a "burning social conscience, fired by the social gospel theology which characterized divinity schools of the day". (Faris 1975:23-4) He had been wounded in a gas attack during the First World War, had a horror of war and a fervent belief in the merits of the democratic system, including the fullest possible participation in an informed citizenry in the working of society. As Armstrong and Faris have pointed out in their studies, Corbett was also a Canadian nationalist and was concerned about the task of building a single nation in spite of the geographical facts of Canada. As he put it in the fall of 1937, "In Canada we are so far apart geographically that frequent interchange of ideas and opinions will always be difficult."(Corbett 1937:2) In his study of the Wartime Information Board, W.R. Young refers to Corbett as "a leader of [the] intellectual mafia" who were "promoters of a Canadian national consciousness". (Young 1978:23-4) Such views help to explain Corbett's commitment to citizenship education as a priority and his readiness to work closely with the C.B.C. and the National Film Board, both instruments designed to bridge the gaps in Canadian society and to promote a feeling of national identity.

Corbett took over the leadership of an organization the goals of which were stated largely in terms of dispassionate and professional interests, and transformed it to one which was heavily engaged in the promotion of particular social values. The founders of the CAAE had seen its role as that of a clearing house and information center for agencies and individuals in the field. Corbett led the organization into an active program role of its own.

During the prewar period, Corbett gave a great deal of his time to building up the new organization--making contacts with key persons in government, consolidating relationships with adult education leaders across the country and building up a remarkably effective network of contacts and communication with key figures in the national life of the country. The organization's emphasis on rural education was manifested by two projects which began in this period, a community development experiment at The Pas, Manitoba and the Community Life Training Institute in Barrie, Ontario, a leadership development program. These projects may be seen as the CAAE's first ventures into direct programming, but could be "justified" in terms of CAAE's stated

goals as demonstration or experimental efforts designed to try out certain methodologies.

The first clear signal of the readiness of the CAAE to move into a sustained direct programming role appeared in the fall of 1937. At a meeting of the executive in mid-September, Corbett was authorized (no doubt at his own suggestion) to begin publishing pamphlets for use by study groups and to enter into discussions with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation about possible joint programming. The CAAE made an arrangement with Ryerson Press for the publication of a series of pamphlets and in early 1938, with a series of radio talks about adult education, launched its long period of close co-operation with the C.B.C. (Armstrong 1968:102-3). By mid-1939, the organization was well launched on the promotion of study groups (in co-operation with local adult education organizations) and radio listening groups. In the summer of 1939, it employed Neil Morrison to serve as liaison officer with the C.B.C., organize listening groups and arrange training for group leaders. The posture of the organization was revealed clearly by a telegram which its executive sent to the Prime Minister the day following Canada's declaration of war on Germany in early September:

> The Canadian Association for Adult Education, comprising all university extension departments, having a total of forty-seven affiliated organizations and offering courses and radio listening groups throughout the Dominion, lays at the disposal of the federal government its services and facilities for information and education in citizenship and public affairs. (Armstrong 1968:117)

What these developments reveal was that the CAAE had for its own purposes, subsequently reinforced by urgent wartime needs, moved to a position where it had added to the original clearing house function of the organization, the direct promotion of citizenship education by means of publications, study groups and broadcasting. Such citizenship education had a long history in the field of adult education, going back to at least the late 1700s. The whole ideological atmosphere in the country at the beginning of the war leant emphasis to the necessity of strengthening the democratic nature of society, in the face of the challenge from the totalitarian, fascist states abroad, and anti-democratic forces within. Corbett later described in this way the situation he faced as Director of the CAAE:

> To create from a document of aims and purposes a national institution dedicated to the idea that continued learning throughout life was not only possible, but necessary if democratic institutions were to survive.(Corbett 1957:113)

And as he put it in a report to the Carnegie Corporation in March of 1941:

> In a country at war, the educational needs and wants of its citizens must not be overlooked or forgotten. This is supremely important if democracy is to be strong and vital in opposing the totalitarian states.(Armstrong 1968:116)

Armstrong, in his study of Corbett's leadership role in the CAAE, describes his aim during the war years as "to involve the whole adult education movement in the gigantic task of educating for democratic citizenship and effective post-war reconstruction".(Armstrong 1968:130)

In the period between the founding of the CAAE in 1935 and the early months of the war, it is clear that the CAAE changed its goals by adding to the original clearing house and information center idea a direct programming role in the field of citizenship education. There is a crucial distinction, however, between fostering adult education about questions of concern to the citizen--public affairs topics and social goals--and taking a position on those questions. Up until 1940, or early 1941, the CAAE had done only the former. It was at this point that Corbett's leadership set the CAAE on a course which in the ensuing two years resulted in the Association taking a position on national policy questions.

It is advisable to pause here to remind ourselves of the intellectual climate in which this step was taken. Canada, in common with other nations, had had to endure the terrible shock of the depression, with its widespread misery and profound questioning of the workings of contemporary society. The thirties had witnessed the widespread acceptance of socialist ideas, and in some circles, Marxist ones, the formation of the C.C.F. Party and the propagation of within heretofore conservative circles such as the leading Protestant denominations, of discussion of radical ideas about the future direction of Canadian economic and social arrangements. With the outbreak of the war, the government itself was plunged into the propaganda business. Through the Bureau of Public Information (later replaced by the Wartime Information Board), it sought to define the issues for which the war was being fought and to establish a concept of Canadian nationalism which would rally all Canadians behind the war effort. Publicity and

educational techniques were employed to mobilize Canadians for wartime activity. (Young 1978:1-4) It was amidst this sort of atmosphere--the yeasty, somewhat radicalized legacy of the depression years, with an "overlay" of the widespread use of propaganda by official government sources, that the CAAE was sorting out its role. As Corbett subsequently observed:

> The coming of the war gave CAAE its first opportunity to depart from its prescribed course as a clearing house and to participate in a national program of action.(Corbett 1946:99)

Looking at these events from outside the adult education movement, W.R. Young has commented that the adult educators viewed the war as "a great opportunity for citizenship education". The educators hoped that their activities could provide the framework within which citizens could be encouraged "to read, to listen, to think and to decide".(Young 1978:27,30)

One can see the evolution of CAAE policy in this two year period, 1941 to 1943, as falling into two stages. The first of these represented a decision to join in with or enhance the efforts being made by the government to marshall support for the cause of democracy, as a means of strengthening the war effort. (Of course this was consistent with the deep convictions of most Canadians anyway and was a longstanding goal of many persons and organizations in the adult education movement.) The message to the Prime Minister at the outbreak of war had offered the CAAE's services "for information and education in citizenship and public affairs". In his report to the annual meeting of CAAE in 1941, Corbett went further. He called upon the Association to

> re-affirm our belief that a democratic way of life is the good way of life.... That's our job, to show people what a living, shining thing Democracy can be. [The CAAE must] throw off its attitude of academic detachment and make it quite clear that it intends to use whatever methods of propaganda are sound and legitimate in helping people to think clearly about the kind of world we have the right to look for when this war is over.

With the exception of the use of the word propaganda in the foregoing, adult educators of the day would on the whole accept this view.

This then represents the first stage of the transformation of the CAAE from a clearing house to a programming agency. While some individuals within the CAAE may have questioned the wisdom of the organization moving into direct programming, few, if any would have questioned the move on grounds of principle.

Especially in view of the absence of other national educational agencies (the constitution of the country assigning education to the provinces) it seemed appropriate for the CAAE to engage in "national" educational activities such as co-operation with the C.B.C. on Farm Radio Forum and with the National Film Board on its film circuits and the publication of materials for use by study groups across the country. Many adult educators in Canada, then and since, have seen this as an appropriate role for the CAAE and it has continued in diverse ways over the years to engage in and encourage citizenship or public affairs education.

But beginning in 1942-43, the CAAE moved one step further. In addition to raising public affairs questions for consideration, the CAAE resolved to take a stand on some broad matters of national policy. Here the organization, in the view of many, crossed over the line between education and propaganda, between raising questions and answering them. This second stage surfaced in 1941 and culminated in the declaration which was endorsed by the 1943 conference. In the process, the CAAE allied itself with the "social reform tradition" which had been present in the adult education movement since its earliest years. This stand by the CAAE was a source of some controversy within the organization, caused considerable suspicion of and trouble for the Association, but did not, on the whole, make a profound or abiding impact on the CAAE's work. What stayed with the organization was a commitment to citizenship education. The avowal of certain political or social policy positions by the Association, very much a product of the period of "reconstruction" planning during the war, did not have a strong lasting effect on the future activities of the organization.

Colors to the Mast: The 1943 Manifesto--and After

One of the first hints of the move towards a distinct social or political position on the part of the CAAE came in the same report of the Director to the annual meeting of 1941 which has already been quoted from above. In addition to arguing that the CAAE should be active in education about public affairs, Corbett went further: he said that adult education is "more than a method or system.... It is a social philosophy". The CAAE

> can at least affirm our faith that a working democracy need not countenance poverty and starvation.... We can insist that changes in the social [and] economic [systems] do not come from wishful thinking or resolutions passed

> at conventions but as the result of careful study and long-term planning. This does not mean that we should become propagandists...but it does mean that we take our stand with the men and women who believe in progress.

Corbett carried the CAAE with him along these lines in the months that followed. Reform was "in the air" in Canadian society at that time and a small band of thirty or forty people, a few of them quite radical in their views, provided leadership and carried their ideas through to acceptance by the significant conferences in 1942 and the following year.[2]

In looking back on this period from the vantage point of 1947, Corbett saw it as of particular significance:

> In 1942-43, we began to realize that the time had come to broaden our base of operations; to restate our objectives, and to outline as clearly and comprehensively as possible the working philosophy of the movement.(Director's Report 1947 quoted in Armstrong 1968:134)

In May of 1942, in speaking to the Farm Radio Forum conference in Winnipeg, Corbett indicated that sobering decisions faced Canadians in their reconstruction policies and he raised the spectre of "returning to free enterprise with cycles, poverty, and special privilege...or a type of regimentation that may destroy the very thing we are fighting for".(Faris 1975:31) In November of that year, the Council of CAAE formally endorsed the view that the organization

> needed to give the most earnest attention to its responsibilities in stimulating and giving guidance to a process of public enlightenment and awakening regarding the issues of the war and objectives in the post-war world.(Nov. 16, 1942, quoted in Faris 1975:31)

A Special Program Committee was established to work out a statement of principles to be endorsed by the Association. The committee consisted of Corbett, Watson Thomson (University of Manitoba), R.E.G. Davis (Y.M.C.A. and Canadian Youth Commission) and W.H. Brittain (Macdonald College). The committee involved several other persons in its work and during the Christmas break in 1942, convened a small but representative meeting at Macdonald College to complete a statement of the philosophy of the movement, in the light of wartime conditions and planning for reconstruction. The report of that meeting,

containing a statement of principles, was then submitted for consideration at the Annual Meeting held in May, 1943 in London, Ontario.

There was clearly a heightened "sense of occasion" at the London conference, which was the first general conference for the members which had been held for two years. The President of the Association, Dr. Sydney Smith, President of the University of Manitoba, opened the meeting with a stirring call to action. After reminding those assembled of the original purposes of the Association and indicating how each has been performed successfully he said:

> But I assert that the record is not good enough for today, and certainly not for tomorrow. I plead with you to examine carefully, in this Annual Meeting, the raison d'etre of the Association.

He posed three alternatives: continuing as a clearing house, becoming a government agency, or the one that he endorsed:

> Working voluntarily with governmental and other agencies, the CAAE, by leadership, and even direction, should suggest, promote or initiate, for itself and its member organizations, policies and projects that will enable their respective constituencies to foster national unity and strength of purpose, and that will transcend social, political and economic conflicts.

He lauded the virtue of democratic values and stressed the importance of education in preparing citizens for carrying out their civic duty. He stressed the need for change so that those fighting in the war would not have to return to the likes of "the dizzy twenties and the dismal thirties". He stressed that the CAAE was not being called upon to "espouse any particular 'ism":

> The Association should direct people to examine basic human problems affecting their own welfare...and relate these problems to certain invaluable and inviolable standards, values and absolutes or imperatives.... We are dealing with the very stuff of individual and national strength and purpose.

Dr. Smith stopped short of suggesting a particular path for the Association, but he did clearly support a change of role, commended the special committee's statement of principles to the attention of the meeting, and called for fashioning "a new dynamic for adult education".(Smith 1943:5-8)

Corbett's Director's Report to the conference went further. After drawing attention to recent developments in the program of the Association, and the urgency of wartime conditions, he described the process and decisions which

had led up to the conference. He made reference to recent social legislation introduced by the government and then moved to the heart of the matter, as far as the future of the Association was concerned:

> Can we depend on private enterprise to provide full employment or will a considerable measure of government planning and regulation be required? Many of our members may feel that it is not the business of an association such as ours to propagate any particular point of view on such questions, but rather to present all the facts in a completely detached and objective fashion. If, however, we believe that the only hope for world peace in the future lies in some kind of international order based on co-operation, and the concept of selective security, we surely have the right to say so. Such a planned international economy however, implies and depends upon controls which operate effectively in the domestic field as well as in the international field. The Canadian Association for Adult Education has, it seems to me, a definite obligation to make clear its conviction that any return to a laissez-faire social and economic philosophy means a return to those social and economic disorders that must inevitably lead again to war.

And he asked:

> What can we do to assist in the crystallization of public opinion in support of necessary social and economic reforms in the national and international fields?(Director's Report 1943:2-3)

Corbett was clearly throwing his weight behind a social reform position on the part of the Association.

Neil Morrison introduced the report of the planning committee to the conference, stressing the section dealing with "fundamental principles", and a committee was struck to produce overnight a simplified version of that section for possible approval by the conference. A draft "Manifesto" was ready by the next day, and after discussion, and some amendment, was moved by Sydney Smith and seconded by Donald Cameron (of the University of Alberta) and unanimously adopted.

The Manifesto is a brief statement containing a general introduction and a statement of seven principles. It refers to the need for "a new Canadian and world society" and invites interested individuals and groups to join in the "urgent educational task" of working towards that end. It declares that

"academic aloofness and neutrality are not enough" and declares itself in support of certain principles:

1. Mutual responsibility for each other's welfare among individuals and nations.
2. Social controls and planning are necessary. It "is probable that the area of public ownership and control should be extended...."
3. Human beings are ends, not means. Need to prevent regimentation.
4. Status of the individual should rest on efficient service to the community, "not social privilege, financial power or property rights".
5. Meeting consumption needs "should be the main incentive of economic life".
6. "Social goals take precedence over individual and sectional purposes of profit or advantage".
7. Neither "the old individualism" nor "the newer mass collectivism" but a principle of "voluntary co-operation which balances rights with responsibilities" should be the basis of the social order.

And the Manifesto concludes:

> The CAAE will seek the co-operation of all individuals and organizations who endorse these principles in formulating and executing a whole-hearted campaign of public education directed towards the winning of a people's war and a people's peace.(Kidd 1963:108-9)

It is an indication of the times that this statement--even the title, "Manifesto"--could have been approved unanimously by the conference, which was attended by 230 persons. This was a time in Canadian society when reform was in the air. In the words of a Wartime Information Board report to Cabinet in November of this same year, "Public opinion favored great changes--almost anything to prevent the return to poverty and insecurity". There was "an undercurrent of public nervousness" (Bothwell and Kilbourn 1979:180-81) and a concern about post-war conditions "something akin to dread".(Granatstein 1975:251) Charles Ritchie, then a junior staff member of the Canadian High Commission in London, recorded at this time (late 1943), "The war will make people impatient and ready for change. The post-war period is our great opportunity".(Ritchie 1974:149) So this was clearly a time in the life of the country when the Manifesto, which at other times might seem clearly socialistic and therefore both unacceptable to some attending the conference and unwise in terms of the Association's public relations, could be unanimously accepted by the meeting. In fact, some of those who attended, especially those representing some university extension departments and representatives of provincial

departments of education, voiced objections privately but "sat in sullen silence as [the Manifesto] was unanimously adopted". (Faris 1975:138 quoting interview with Alex Sim)

The London conference in May, 1943, in order to begin to implement this program of citizenship education, resolved to launch a major program, somewhat parallel to the existing National Farm Radio Forum but dealing with more general citizenship and reconstruction problems. In order to plan this project (which became Citizens' Forum), a further conference, on "Education for Reconstruction", was called for September, at Macdonald College.

The September conference was concerned mainly with the organization of Citizens' Forum. It embodied the practical application of the "reconstruction educational program" which had been called for by the Special Program Committee in its report and endorsed by the annual meeting in London. It was from the beginning envisaged as a project which would involve the use of radio and local discussion groups. The Wartime Information Board played a prominent part in the organization of the planning conference, no less than ten of their staff taking part in the final planning meeting in July. There was an enthusiastic response from many of the organizations approached about the project and the originally intended 100 participants grew to 165, representing 120 organizations. (Avison 1943:18) The practical measures undertaken by the meeting to launch Citizens' Forum need not detain us. What is of relevance here are the further indications of the general mood and directions of the Association's thinking. The report of the conference printed in Food For Thought, (by this time, the name of the Association's journal) (Anon 1943:ff) dealt only with the report of the three commissions (on curriculum, methods and organization) and contained little of an ideological nature. The following issue carried the text of the concluding conference address by Gregory Vlastos, a socialist (Young 1978:81) then in the R.C.A.F. and subsequently on the staff of the Wartime Information Board. He called for a sense of commitment to democratic ideas and "the sense of community releasing the hidden greatness of the common man". (Vlastos 1943:8) It appears that at the Macdonald College conference the CAAE, having to work out co-operative arrangements with many other organizations, did not stress ideological matters, but got on with the practical implementation of Citizens' Forum, which was launched later in the same fall, with remarkable success.

It is clear that the year 1943, with the endorsement of the Manifesto, marks the high point in the social reform position of the CAAE. Watson Thomson,

one of the members of the planning committee and a leading activist for the ideas in the Manifesto, was asked to write an article on the conference for the Association's journal. He stated that

> the adult education business in Canada had 'jelled' and the CAAE had acquired a momentum from within. But the great event of the London Conference was a decision which, in effect, implies a radical transformation and extension of the structure and functions of the CAAE.

Thompson pointed out, somewhat scornfully, that the frequent stance of adult educators in the field of social issues was "a pale neutrality and restraint". He referred to it as offering people "stones when they are crying for bread. So as not to be accused of belonging to any camp, they have refused to come down to earth at all". Concerning the principles in the Manifesto, Thomson stated:

> In short, the Manifesto is a necessary declaration without which the CAAE could hardly dare go to the citizens of Canada, regardless of race, class or creed. It testifies that, in this crisis, we offer men and women not only information, but something of vision and faith. It testifies that, as for us, social change - radical social and economic change - is not something to be feared.
>
> Such a stand is obligatory upon men and women to whom adult education is not just a job and a technique but a passionate preparation for a new society.... At London, we did something we all wanted to do, some more consciously than others. We took a stand. We gave ourselves a moral and ideological basis from which to act. (Thomson 1943:9-11)

In the spring of 1944, the CAAE chose to reprint an address which John Grierson, Director of the National Film Board and, until a few months previous, of the Wartime Information Board, had given in England five years earlier. Much of it had to do with the place of communications media in citizenship education, but one can see its appeal to the CAAE in the Manifesto period: "On the other hand, if education is to be an active instrument of the democratic idea, it must first be socialized. By that I mean that it must at every turn take hold of its role as a social instrument". (Grierson 1944:5)

Over the summer of 1944, Corbett went on a speaking tour of Canadian armed forces bases in England and Scotland, at the request of the Wartime Information Board. He talked with the men and women mainly about problems of

rehabilitation and reconstruction. He found them very anxious about the kind of world which would face them on their return and Corbett drew the lesson that civilians at home had the "heavy responsibility" of creating a kind of community in which the veterans would be able to play an active and meaningful part. (Corbett 1944:4-8)

The CAAE annual meeting for 1944 was held in Ottawa in September of that year. Corbett's Director's Report to the meeting is a significant statement of how he saw the current position and priorities of the Association. Some parts of the report perhaps reflect some uneasiness in the Association over the stand that was taken in the Manifesto:

> During the past four years the policy of this Association has undergone a complete change. In the first four years of our existence, we followed closely the terms of reference laid down in our Dominion Charter. The Association was a clearing house: a center of adult education interest, and of experimental promotion. But with the development of the National Farm Radio Forum, we automatically entered the program field. Our name became associated with the active propagation of certain points of view. While we might protest our complete educational objectivity, the fact is that through our close relationship with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and our sponsorship of a program dealing with practical problems of rural living, we moved out of our Ivory Tower and began to take a look at the world we lived in. We had allied ourselves with people of progressive temper, we began to be accused of having ideas about human affairs, which is always dangerous in Canada.

Corbett reviewed the events which led up to the approval of the Manifesto. He maintained that the Manifesto did not depart "in any way" from the original purposes of the Association, but

> simply clothes the dry bones of an official statement with a working philosophy and gives it direction. It states only the basic assumptions regarding human welfare that we believe can be made by all thinking people.
>
> It testifies that in the crisis through which the world is passing, the CAAE proposes to offer men and women something more than information: it suggests national leadership in social vision and faith: it testifies that social and economic change are not something to be feared, nor something to be promoted in the interest of any special group. It is to be demanded and fought for in the interest of the whole

> society. That adult education is not just a technique or a special field of education, but a means, perhaps the only means by which men and women can be prepared for a new social order, a means of establishing the moral and ideological basis from which action can take shape.

Corbett described the Macdonald College conference, calling it "the most significant in the history of the Association" in that it brought the CAAE into close working relationships, both at the conference and subsequently in the launching of Citizens' Forum, with "literally hundreds of societies":

> We are no longer alone. We are no longer a voice crying in the wilderness. Our emphasis upon the value of adult education as a medium of social change is supported by thousands of people now who formerly had no interest in or knowledge of the possibilities of adult education. There is therefore now no way out for this Association. It must either proceed ideologically along the lines laid down in its Manifesto and practically in the areas developed by National Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum and by other media, or it must retreat ignominiously from the field.(Director's Report 1944 and Corbett 1944a:1-2)

There is some impression here of cheering on the flagging troops and it is clear that there was some unease in the Association about its ideological directions. (Faris 1975:137ff) There had been some adverse response in the press about the matter.(Thomson 1943:10) In his study of the period, Ron Faris makes this comment:

> Considering the concepts and even the terminology used in the Manifesto and in Corbett's defence of social action, it is not surprising that conservative observers subsequently accused the Association and its Director of "left-wing" leanings. To a conservative, this social democratic rhetoric, set in a period of rapid growth of the C.C.F. movement, may have been conclusive proof that the CAAE was a partisan propaganda weapon.(Faris 1975:34)

Faris describes in detail efforts made by members of the Liberal cabinet in the fall of 1944 to influence the balance of speakers who were to appear on the early Citizens' Forum broadcasts, on the grounds that they were loaded in favor of the C.C.F. and the socialist point of view.(Faris 1975:104-07) Corbett's active role in civil liberties issues during this same period added to his--and the Association's--reputation in some quarters for leftist tendencies.

At this distance in time, it can be seen that the Manifesto of 1943 and the Director's reports of that year and the following were the most extreme stands taken by the Association with respect to its ideological position. Thereafter, strong statements were occasionally made in individual articles, but the tendency was to fall back from the more extreme position to one in which the goal was not so much change of a particular kind and direction, but rather the animation of discussion and study about social issues.

An example of the continuation of insistence upon social reform may be found in an article by Watson Thomson which was carried in Food For Thought in early 1945. (By this time Thomson had become director of adult education in the Saskatchewan Department of Education--under the new C.C.F. government there.) He said that the legacy of the war demanded an adult education with a "new philosophy". The new adult education must be "social through and through" and must be "activist"; "glad to associate with the Common Man and serve him in his historic struggle towards a more abundant life". He raised the matter of the acceptability of a "neutral" stance on the part of the educator, in the context of a study of fascism, for instance:

> Such neutrality is impossible.... Education cannot detach itself in that way from the historic process. Teachers and professors and adult educationists have to make up their minds, like everybody else, whether they are on the side of the people and on the side of social change or on the side of the enemies of the Common Man and on the side of the status quo. To play the neutral role means, like the political policy of appeasement, to play into the hands of the enemies of progress.(Thomson 1945:5-6)

This sort of article, which was "answered" in a subsequent issue (Gordon 1945), was the exception (as was Thomson himself) and on the whole, CAAE avoided thereafter strident statements of the sort contained in the 1943 Manifesto. It had by then, however, become the target of attack and suspicion in conservative circles. Young, in his study, quotes W.H. Brittain of Macdonald College as stating late in 1943 (after the Manifesto of that year) that "even various wings of the adult education movement had come to view each other suspiciously". Young also states that in this period, the Wartime Information Board, the C.B.C. and the CAAE were seen by many businessmen as attempting to "downgrade the free enterprise system".(Young 1978:99) Mention of such attacks was noted in an editorial in Food For Thought in the fall of 1950.(Anon 1950:1-2)

For the balance of Corbett's years as Director of the Association, CAAE came under periodic attack for what were termed leftist views. These attacks mainly focussed on the choice of speakers and program materials in the Farm Radio and Citizens' Forum programs and many of them are reviewed in Faris's book. (Faris 1975) The most "spectacular" of these incidents involved the President of the Association, James Muir, then President of the Royal Bank of Canada, who, in 1951 and 1952, had a series of battles with the staff and some committees over the "bias" which he and some business associates believed the CAAE had allowed at times to creep into both broadcasts and pamphlets of the two Forum programs.(Faris 1975:141-50)

The 1946 Declaration--and After

The next comprehensive test of the ideological climate of the Association came at the annual meeting of 1946. In the intervening period, the energies of the Association appear to have been focussed on managing Farm Radio and Citizens' Forum, publishing Food For Thought, and beginning in 1945, on closer co-ordination with other organizations. Articles in the journal gave a great deal of attention to the various forms of citizen education and involvement--leadership training, rural adult education, community centers and councils, outstanding institutions in the field such as St. Francis Xavier in Nova Scotia, the film circuits and of course the two broadcast Forum projects. Editorially, the journal pursued most of these same subjects, education for citizenship in its various forms being the most frequent theme. Early in this two year period (1944 to 1946), much attention was given to the interests of the returning veterans. In the fall of 1944, for instance, in an editorial entitled, "When the Boys Come Home", the emphasis was placed on building a society in which there would be jobs for the veterans and in which they would have a meaningful place as participating citizens.(Morrison 1944:1-2) In the spring of 1945, an article by Corbett on adult education and the schools stressed the significance of the study group as a setting in which people not only learn from each other, but practice the methods and skills of democratic living in so doing.(Corbett 1945) A long editorial in April of 1945 dealt with the issue of education and propaganda, taking a moderate stand.

The important conference in Winnipeg in the spring of 1945 will be dealt with in greater detail below, but it is important to note here that because it was concerned with co-operation and co-ordination in the field of citizenship

education, involving other agencies, including public bodies, the emphasis was on method and general philosophy, not on particular political ends. For instance, on the opening night of the conference, John Grierson stated that

> The basic problem of education lies not so much in the acquisition of literacy or knowledge or skills, as in the pattern of civic appreciation, civic faith and civic duty which goes with them.
>
> I suggest, in fact, that the crisis in education today lies in the realm of the imaginative training for citizenship and not anywhere else. (Grierson 1945:5-6)

At the opening of a new program year in September of 1945, the editorial in Food For Thought was a call to action "for those interested in adult education, public information and responsible citizenship", who were entreated not to let down now that the war was won, but "to find out how to steer the political machine instead of letting ourselves be crushed beneath its wheels". (Morrison 1945:1) In a thoughtful article in the same issue, Alex Sim surveyed the task of citizenship education lying ahead and questioned whether peacetime challenges such as unemployment and poverty could be seen "as dreadful an emergency" as "Dunkirk, Pearl Harbor and the siege of Leningrad". (Sim 1945:24) In a brief to the Ontario Royal Commission on Education in 1945, the CAAE pointed out that it was not involved in vocational or degree credit adult education. "Its [CAAE's] basic creed is that well-informed citizens are vital in a democracy and that a well-developed program of adult education is essential to good citizenship". (8 page brief in Association files) In November of 1945, the editorial lamented the demise of the Wartime Information Board, stressing its importance in public affairs education (its successor was to be concerned only with information services abroad). This same position was taken in an article by Martin Estall in the same issue. (Estall 1945)

Reference has been made to the annual conference of the Association held in Winnipeg in May of 1945. Corbett was convinced that the CAAE should play a role as a co-ordinator of a network of national agencies--public and otherwise--which were broadly concerned with citizenship education. The CAAE was successful at the Winnipeg meeting in bringing together representatives of many of these agencies, some of them (the Wartime Information Board and the C.B.C.) having been involved in the planning as well. At the end of the meeting, the CAAE was asked to take the lead in establishing a national committee to facilitate co-operative programming. This committee, chaired by Corbett, convened a further national

conference in the following year which was on the subject of joint planning by voluntary and government agencies in adult education.

The resulting Kingston Conference of May, 1946, was instrumental in creating the Joint Planning Commission, described below. The conference also produced a declaration (drafted largely by Harry Avison of Macdonald College) on the role of adult education:

> The adult education movement is based on the belief that quite ordinary men and women have within themselves and their communities the spiritual and intellectual resources adequate to the solution of their own problems. Through lack of knowledge and lack of leadership these resources are often not mobilized or not directed in constructive ways.
>
> The primary tasks of adult education, therefore, are to awaken people to the possibilities and dangers of modern life, to help them with knowledge and leadership, and to provide channels of communication between different cultural, occupational and social groups so that the solution of human problems may be sought against the broadest background and in the interest of all. In short, the task is the imaginative training for citizenship.
>
> Adult education should deal with the actual and living concerns of actual and living people. Adult education is a natural continuation and fulfillment of schooling. The lessons of mature citizenship can really only be learned by mature people. While provision must always be made for the training of the underprivileged and the neglected and for the occupation of leisure time, adult education must be seen as a normal activity of a developing and healthy society.(Kidd 1950:24-5)

This eloquent statement of the "mission" of adult education in the field of citizenship education indicates that the CAAE saw itself still committed firmly to education for citizenship and to the rights and capacities of the individual citizen, but it stopped considerably short of the language of the 1943 Manifesto.

There was presumably no need this time for university and government representatives to abstain from supporting the declaration. Indeed the nature of the meeting was such that it was essential that the declaration be acceptable to the representatives of a variety of public and private agencies. Although it could be argued that this latter fact greatly influenced what ideas went into the declaration, it should also be said that from this point on, the CAAE seemed to take as policy and purpose the mission outlined in 1946 rather than to return

to the language of the 1943 statement. The commitment now was to "the imaginative training for citizenship", not to some of the more explicit political goals of the Manifesto such as the expansion of public ownership and "social controls".

For the ensuing five years, until the end of his time as Director of the Association in 1951, Corbett continued to be a dynamic leader, although it is probably fair to say that by this later period he had fought most of his battles and the Association was concerned largely with operating along already established lines. Ron Faris, in his study, suggests that during this period, the "social movement activists" realized that they had lost the struggle for control of the Association and left.(Faris 1975) It would be fairer to say, however, that the activists who saw the CAAE as a means of advancing certain social and political ends had left, but that there remained others who still thought of adult education as a movement, one which had potential to transform society in significant ways, ways and directions to be left for decision by the learners, the citizens.

Aside from the comparatively strident notes in his annual reports in 1943 and 1944, Corbett tended to couch his philosophical statements about the field in fairly moderate terms. In his Director's Report in 1946, he said, "It seems to me that the CAAE has an opportunity and a duty now to emphasize the need for a more dynamic concept of citizenship in this new and dangerous world we live in".

In 1947 the CAAE published a small pamphlet by Corbett entitled A Short History of Adult Education, the text of which had shortly before appeared in Food For Thought. He pointed out there that earlier experience with adult education in the United Kingdom, where much adult education was a response to social problems, made it clear "that the social problem is partly an educational problem. It always has been, and it always will be".(Corbett 1947:4) Later in the publication he describes what he terms his "working philosophy" of adult education as being

> based on the conviction that the desire for knowledge is a normal human appetite, and that the capacity to acquire knowledge continues throughout life.
>
> I also know from long experience that through study, discussion and planning together people can change their social and economic environment and in so doing change themselves.(Corbett 1947:12)

He set forth six principles of adult education which he and M.M. Coady of St. Francis Xavier University had worked out together:

a. That the individual, his rights, his moral and spiritual significance, is of supreme importance in a democracy.
b. That social progress can only come about through improvement in the quality of human beings, and that improvement can only come through education.
c. That adult education must suit its efforts to the intimate interests of the individual or the group, and in most instances these interests are economic.
d. That adult education functions most effectively through group study and group action.
e. That the ultimate objective of all education, particularly adult education, is the development of the individual's capacity to live a fuller and more abundant life.
f. That education, like religion, can only be truly vital in the measure of its freedom from external authority. (Corbett 1947:12)

Both these six principles and the preceding "working philosophy" apparently still had appeal for Corbett ten years later because he used them, unchanged, in his autobiography, We Have With Us Tonight, published in 1957. (Corbett 1957:220-1)

Corbett shed further light on his views on the occasion of a dinner in honor of his retirement in 1951. He said that to be an adult educator one must like people, be flexible and tough, and have a philosophy of life. He pointed out that a lot of ministers and ex ministers had gone into adult education:

> The reason is, I think, because in adult education they have found an activity in which they can express in their own peculiar way whatever passion for justice and righteousness may possess them.
>
> The working philosophy of these men can be summed up in a few words. They have believed that people can be creative and that they can live in fellowship. (Anon 1951)

This statement reveals some of the fervor and social gospel thinking of the man. He led the CAAE into adopting a broad citizenship education task, and in 1943, into a social activist posture. Armstrong, in his study of the man and his influence, adds:

> Corbett's values too - his belief in voluntarism, his nationalism, and the importance which he attached to free discussion, rural adult education, civil liberties and citizenship training - are indelibly etched in the historical record of the Association during this period. (Armstrong 1968:205)

Programs and Services

With the decision taken in 1937 to enter into citizenship education, initially by means of the publication of pamphlets for study groups and through broadcasts, in co-operation with the C.B.C., the foundation was laid for much future work. In this connection, especially after the beginning of the war, the CAAE became an active partner in various ventures with several private and public organizations which had an interest in promoting study and discussion of public affairs questions facing Canadians. These organizations included the Canadian Legion Educational Services (which the CAAE had helped to organize), the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship, the Wartime Information Board (especially after Grierson became its Manager in early 1943), the C.B.C. and the National Film Board. Corbett was almost legendary in his ability to create and maintain productive working relationships with many of the leaders of these--and other--organizations. In his book, Faris has studied the nature of these alliances, on ideological and other lines.(Faris 1975)

The relationship among these organizations--different combinations for different programs--was complex and it is often difficult from the records to determine where one organization's efforts leave off and those of another begin. Pamphlets produced by one organization would be used by another in its programs. Those produced by two organizations co-operatively would be used by both of them--and others--in their study group activities. The same was true for many study outlines, films and broadcasts.

Basic to an understanding of the efforts of those several organizations in the late thirties and the succeeding fifteen years is the fact that very heavy reliance was placed on the small study group as a technique. The churches, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A., university extension departments, rural voluntary organizations, political parties and many other groups had begun, during the thirties, to rely heavily on this means of promoting study and discussion. (It had been a prominent technique from the very early period of the adult education movement in the late 18th century.) The well-known and successful "Antigonish Movement" of St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia, which relied heavily on the study group, gave increased prominence to this approach through its outstanding leaders, J.J. Thompkins and M.M. Coady. They built their whole program around the study group and eloquently promoted its use, a position Corbett and many other adult education leaders of the day endorsed. Corbett's

"basic principles of adult education", listed above, indicate the priority which he attached to that setting and method of adult education.

So that as the CAAE moved into the field of citizenship education, in the company of the other organizations, heavy reliance was placed on the study group and as a result, on the production of materials which would provide such groups with information and guidance for their work. Two of the major projects of the Association, Farm Radio Forum and Citizens' Forum, relied heavily on pamphlets produced especially for that work. In addition, CAAE produced, and otherwise made available for use, a great many pamphlets on other subjects.

A major instrument utilized by the Association for the assistance of study groups was its regular journal, called Adult Learning from 1936 to 1939 and Food For Thought thereafter. Adult Learning had been a general adult education journal, with articles about what was going on in the field, but the changeover in 1940 was made with the deliberate intention of producing instead a publication which could serve as the basis of individual or group study. Each issue was almost wholly taken up with an article on some public affairs topic, sometimes one related to adult education ("What About the C.B.C.?", "Farmers Air Their Problems", etc.). With the first issue of volume II, in the fall of 1941, it went to a smaller format and to a larger number of shorter articles, although the announced intention was to continue carrying one longer article in each issue on "some outstanding Canadian problem". The intention was to carry "editorial comment [and] discussion helps, information concerning material suitable for adult education groups".(Anon 1941b:4) In the fall of 1944 (Vol.V, No. 1) the magazine was converted to yet a smaller size, with a picture on the cover and became generally more attractive in appearance. Among the goals listed at the time of this change was that of providing "practical guidance for those who are giving leadership in Citizens' Forum, Farm Radio Forum, and other types of discussion groups or educational clubs".(Morrison 1944a) Significantly, the lead editorial in this first issue was the one by Corbett commenting on the 1943 Manifesto and announcing that the CAAE had moved "out of our Ivory Tower". (Corbett 1944a:1) Throughout the decade, Food For Thought gave particular emphasis to public affairs questions and to matters of direct relevance to the interests of those in study groups, such as Forum project news, discussion and group techniques, leadership education, and reviews, notices and descriptions of materials for use in study activities--pamphlets, films, books and radio broadcasts. Towards the end of the forties one can see a noticeable increase in the number of articles on international affairs.

The Association's journal represented only a portion of its publishing activities during this period, however. Many pamphlets, individually and in series, were produced, most of them related to some major program. The first publishing activity, apart from the Association's journal, was a series of pamphlets undertaken jointly with the Canadian Institute for International Affairs. They began to appear in late 1939 under the series title of "Behind the Headlines" and by the fall of the next year, there were nine on the list. They were on public affairs topics, including international affairs, civics and economics, and were written by leading writers of the day such as B.K. Sandwell, H.G. Skillings and J.W. Holmes. In his Director's Report for 1943, Corbett stated that 3,500 copies a month of the "Behind the Headlines" series were being used.

Early in 1940, the CAAE held an invitational conference on rural adult education out of which came plans for a series of 16 bulletins on "Canadian Farm Problems". They were edited by W.H. Brittain and became extremely popular. They were subsequently used as study guides for listening groups in a C.B.C. series broadcast in the Eastern Townships and the Maritime provinces, the precursor of Farm Radio Forum. The CAAE also assisted the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship with the production of a series of twelve pamphlets on public affairs topics, for use in the schools. In its early stages of development, the Canadian Legion Educational Services were largely a result of CAAE leadership and this involved a substantial publications program as well. In his Director's Report for 1943, referred to above, Corbett stated that the C.L.E.S. took 500 copies of the "Behind the Headlines" pamphlet series each month and that a similar arrangement was being worked out for "educational officers of the armed forces".

The most sustained publication effort on the part of the CAAE consisted of the pamphlets and study guides produced in connection with Farm Radio Forum (beginning in 1939) and Citizens' Forum (1943). Generally, there was a new pamphlet produced each week for both programs throughout the length of each season. These usually presented factual information about the week's topic, a list of other related readings, and suggested questions for study and discussion. Each member of each listening group had to receive a copy of this publication, and on time to accompany the broadcast on the same subject.

The CAAE also utilized in its work many pamphlets produced by other organizations. Many of these were reviewed or listed in Food For Thought and

many could be purchased from the CAAE offices. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this activity was the "Canadian Affairs" pamphlet series, which in May of 1943 was taken over by the Wartime Information Board from the Department of National Defence. They were used by the W.I.B. for their general educational work and also supplied regularly to those who were involved in "Servicemen's Forum", a project they ran for members of the armed forces. The CAAE was in close working relations with the W.I.B. and made use of the "Canadian Affairs" pamphlet series on a large scale, as did other organizations.

Corbett frequently used the total circulation of pamphlets from the CAAE offices as a way of conveying an impression of the scale of the Association's activities. For instance, in his report to the annual meeting in 1944, just after the second major forum project, Citizens' Forum, was launched, he reported that four years previous, the circulation of the journal, the "Behind the Headlines" series and miscellaneous other publications had totalled approximately 5,000 items per month. In the year 1943-44, however, Farm Radio Forum alone distributed 20,000 copies per week (560,000 for the seven month program year) and "Of Things to Come" (the early name for Citizens' Forum), 15,000 copies per week (450,000 for the program year). In an article published in March of 1945, Corbett states that the combined monthly mailing for the two Forum projects was 26,000 copies of study bulletins.(Corbett 1945:8)

Over and above this publications program, and the close working relationships with the other organizations which have been mentioned, the chief program initiatives undertaken by the CAAE under Corbett's direction were the two experimental rural projects, the citizenship training center at The Pas, Manitoba and the Community Life Training Institute at Barrie (Simcoe County), Ontario.

Joint Planning Commission

The Joint Planning Commission functioned for fifteen years and was one of the most notable and successful features of adult education at the national level in Canada. It may be seen primarily as an aspect of adult education, or more broadly as an instrument of "the social growth of Canada" (McLeish 1978:103) but in both contexts it fits within the ample philosophy of Corbett, and is seen as one of his most creative contributions to the field.(Armstrong 1968:150)

Efforts to co-ordinate the activities of bodies interested in adult education within particular jurisdictions have been many and varied, usually unsuccessful. The Joint Planning Commission, usually called the "J.P.C.", was the product of the efforts of many people and organizations, but the idea was developed initially, in its distinctive Canadian form, by Corbett from his base at the CAAE, and John Robbins, the Head of the Education Section of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the part-time, unpaid secretary of the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship.

As far as the CAAE was concerned, co-ordination of adult education at the national level was consistent with its terms of reference from the beginning. During the War there developed an effective network of communication and co-operation among key people in several agencies interested in education about public affairs. In his Director's Report to the annual meeting in 1944, Corbett suggested a somewhat more formal effort to consult regularly with other organizations, recommending that the CAAE provide "a medium through which all the varied adult education activity in Canada can be integrated and co-ordinated to serve an agreed purpose".(Director's Report 1944) In an article written in 1946, Corbett said:

> At the annual meeting in 1944 it became apparent that some practical steps must be taken to bring about a more systematic method of co-operation at the national, provincial and community levels. (Corbett 1946:101)

The leaders of several agencies which had worked together closely during the war were determined to foster the continuation of that co-operation in peacetime.(Corbett 1957:213) Early in 1945, the CAAE Executive decided to call a conference "of those organizations which had already worked out a pattern of integration in their work".(Corbett 1946:101) This included Farm Radio Forum, Citizens' Forum, C.B.C., W.I.B., the National Film Board, the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship and the Canadian Legion Educational Services. The chief parties in planning this conference were the CAAE, the National Film Board, the C.B.C. and the Wartime Information Board. Invitations were sent to the organizations mentioned above, and some others. The meeting was held in late May, 1945, and was attended by 125 delegates. The conference authorized the CAAE to take the lead in establishing a national planning committee

> which would in future be responsible for working out national programs co-operatively and more effectively

> integrating work at the provincial and community levels.(Director's report to the CAAE National Council Nov. 21, 1945, quoted in Faris 1975:41)

The committee formed as a result of this initiative was chaired by Corbett and the secretary was John Robbins. Corbett remembered particularly the contributions as well of Harry Avison, John Grierson, Geoffrey Andrew (of the W.I.B.), Neil Morrison and George Grant (who was briefly on the staff of the CAAE) to the development of the project at this early stage. A national conference on the idea of joint planning and co-ordination among voluntary and public bodies was organized for Kingston in May, 1946. The outcome of this conference, in the form of the general declaration on adult education has already been described. With respect to the co-ordinating committee, its functions were considered and extended. They were stated as:

a. To facilitate the exchange of information on program and activities between the different agencies in the field.
b. To avoid overlapping and duplication of effort, particularly in the production of program materials.
c. To work out more effective ways of using available materials and agencies.
d. To consider areas of adult education not being covered and to reach groups not now being reached.
e. To make suggestions about program needs.(Clarke 1954:8-9)

The committee at this time established its basic pattern. Meetings of agency representatives were held approximately three times a year, in Toronto, Ottawa or Montreal. At these, there was an exchange of information about programs, program materials and other matters of mutual interest, and usually there was a major address and/or half day session on some topic of the day. The CAAE provided the staff work for the meetings. A unique and important feature of the arrangement was that there was no formal "membership" or membership fees or constitution of the committee. Organizations were simply invited each time to take part and because the committee continued to be useful to them, they kept coming. It was recognized that to introduce the notion of formal membership requirements, when the participants were of such a varied nature--representatives of government departments, other public agencies, voluntary associations, business and labor--would have raised needless complications. And so the group simply went on, from meeting to meeting and year to year, on the basis of the mutual benefits being received.

A significant step was taken early in 1947 when Corbett was successful in securing a two-year grant from the Carnegie Corporation, which made possible the appointment of Dr. J. Roby Kidd as Associate Director of the CAAE, with a major responsibility for the co-ordination project.[3] In that same year too, the name of the "Co-ordinating Committee" was changed to the "Joint Planning Commission".

The Joint Planning Commission was a success story for the almost twenty years of its existence. It was so regarded by the vast majority of those who played a part in it and many visitors from abroad who studied its work as a possible model for their own countries. It did a great deal more than just exchange information. Its work was organized by an administrative committee which was representative of the broader "membership". The staff work was provided by the CAAE under the leadership of Roby Kidd, until he became Director of the Association in 1951, and thereafter by Mrs. Clare Clarke. The "permanent chairman" of J.P.C. meetings was Walter Herbert, Director of the Canada Foundation, who did it on a volunteer basis. Meetings were held three times a year, usually hosted by one of the participating organizations or by some business enterprise. At the fall meeting, emphasis was placed on the exchange of information about program, resource development and other matters for the coming program year. (An editorial in Food For Thought in the spring of 1949 stated, "It has more than justified its existence in preventing duplication of effort in the preparation of program materials and in providing for the better use of those materials available".)(Anon 1949a:2) The other two meetings in the year normally put greater stress on some selected topic(s) for the day, with some attention being given in the spring as well to the following year's activities. The members did not just sit and listen to speakers, however. The J.P.C. had a series of active committees, some of which were designated as standing committees, which carried out regular tasks such as adjudicating for film and broadcasting awards. Also, there were ad hoc committees which were formed from time to time to conduct a study or prepare a report for the J.P.C. Some of these reports carried recommendations for action; some were more information or "state-of-the-art" reports.

Although the J.P.C.'s work resulted in action being taken, the Commission was not an action body in a political sense:

> One agreement is basic - no decisions are taken that will commit an organization to any prescribed course of action by reason of its participation in

> the J.P.C. This is fundamental to the continued existence of the Commission. In no other way would it be possible to keep such diverse groups together.(Clarke 1954:22)

But action did take place as a result of the J.P.C.'s activities:

> When the members agree upon the need for a study of a certain problem, the work is assigned to a special committee. When the report is completed it is reviewed and discussed by the members. The usual step is for it to be circulated - not as a report by the Commission but as a report prepared for the Commission. The J.P.C. takes no further responsibility itself. But if action is called for the lead is taken by the organization most concerned, in concert with all other groups who wish to and are able to take part.

The topics studied by the Commission over the years were many and varied. A small sample list includes the following:

> Inter-cultural relations
> Civil liberties
> Labor and management in relation to the community
> Professional personnel in adult education
> Experimentation and research in adult education
> Need for a National Commission for UNESCO
> Broadcasting policy in relation to television
> Censorship
> Canadian distribution of U.N. publications
> Distribution of program materials
> Labor education
> Education in correctional institutions
> Retraining and employment

The J.P.C. is somewhat elusive in terms of efforts to define its accomplishments and operations. At the time she wrote her history and description of the project in 1954, Clare Clarke stated that there were then 120 organizations which took part in the J.P.C.'s meetings. She pointed out that many organizations sent the same representatives to each meeting and that over the years considerable friendship and confidence was built up within the group. As Corbett later summed up the accomplishment of the J.P.C., "it has made a friendly family of the organizations and the people who are at work in the field of adult education".(Corbett 1957:214) This made possible a quality of consultation and mutual reliance which was quite remarkable. The galaxy of agencies taking part in the J.P.C. was varied in nature and subject matter interest. The people attending, and the organizational resources behind them were such that J.P.C. could call upon expert opinion and information sources

of a great range and depth. As Clare Clarke pointed out in her study, the tasks undertaken by the J.P.C. of co-ordination and development were not unique, and neither were the principles which guided its actions. But the combination of the particular circumstances in Canada at that time and the skill of the leadership and staff work which went into the enterprise were such that it achieved a remarkable success story.

The CAAE had a delicate relationship to the J.P.C. The latter was a "standing committee" of the CAAE and the latter appointed the chairman annually. The cost of operating and staffing the J.P.C. was provided in the CAAE's budget. But the J.P.C. had a character of its own. "It is at once both a dependent on the CAAE, but as a new kind of informal association it leads a life apart from its parent body".(Clarke 1954:15) Although the CAAE was the parent body, during the meetings and deliberations of the J.P.C., the CAAE "does not take its place as the senior partner, but simply as one of the participating groups that both gives and receives help from its deliberations".(Clarke 1954:16)

In his history and description of the extension work of St. Francis Xavier University, Alexander Laidlaw included a preliminary chapter describing the field of adult education. He states that in the year 1954-55, "over 100" organizations took part in the J.P.C. and he categorized them as follows: (Laidlaw 1961:15)

Business and professional groups	15
Labor organizations	4
Churches	5
Government departments and agencies	18
Provincial departments of education	6
University extension	17
Voluntary organizations	49
	114

In the fall of 1955, the tenth anniversary meeting of the J.P.C. was held. On that occasion, "nearly 100" people were in attendance, including three "charter members", Corbett, Avison and Neil Morrison. The day consisted of historical addresses, a demonstration of film strips, the screening of two N.F.B. films, and a presentation by a panel of three outstanding figures from the press, Clifford Sifton, T.E. Nichols and W.B. Burgoyne.(Anon 1956:184-5) One of the last J.P.C. sessions was held in late 1963, at which several of the senior members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism addressed the delegates. It was significant that the J.P.C. could attract such senior people to speak to its meetings.

The J.P.C. was disbanded by the CAAE in the early 1960s. The new Director of the Association, Dr. Alan Thomas, felt that it had served its purpose, was not attracting as many participants as it once had, and was in decline. Any judgment about the validity of this conclusion is made difficult by the fact that in the last few years of its existence, J.P.C. altered its modus operandi. Instead of holding three meetings a year, with a group of participants who tended to attend regularly, the pattern was established of holding less frequent meetings, each on a special topic. This procedure was seen as not working very satisfactorily and in the end, the J.P.C. was terminated by the CAAE. There is some opinion that what destroyed the effectiveness of the J.P.C. was the decision to depart from the established way of operating, which had supported and sustained the network of informal communication and action.[4]

The J.P.C. was created at the instigation of a group of organizations whose mutual interests were in the field of adult education, broadly defined. The emphasis of its activities over the years was mainly in the areas of adult education, social and cultural development and as such, was embraced by the citizenship emphasis which was stressed by the CAAE beginning in the late 1930s. A demonstration of the ways in which the J.P.C. carried out its task is provided by this account by Ron Faris of its role with respect to the Massey Commission:

> When the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences was appointed on April 8, 1949, to examine and make recommendations on such topics as the principles of Canadian Radio and Television policy, government-voluntary association relationships, and Canadian relations with UNESCO, the CAAE and many of its J.P.C. partners sprang into action. The Secretary of the Planning Commission, Mrs. W.H. Clark [sic] subsequently recalled the role of the J.P.C. vis a vis the Royal Commission by describing the J.P.C. office as a kind of temporary information center on the work of the Royal Commission in that it answered innumerable inquiries, searched out relevant material and consulted with the organizations, many of whom needed encouragement as much as information. The report on Radio and Television Broadcasting "was completed in time to serve as a guide to member organizations preparing briefs for the Royal Commission". (Faris 1975:120; internal quote from Clarke 1954)

This provides a glimpse of a further "informal" dimension of the way in which J.P.C. "network" was of use to member groups, and was used to encourage

efforts in support of political action. It was a further dimension of the adult education movement of the day, acting in what it saw to be the best interests of its society.

Advocacy Activity

The lobbying activities carried out by the CAAE during the Corbett years represent another manifestation of its citizenship activities. They involved adult educators speaking together on matters which they saw to be relevant to the interests of adult learners and adult education. These activities have been well documented by Faris (Faris 1969; Faris 1975) and Armstrong (Armstrong 1968) in their studies of the period. The main briefs submitted during this period were:

1937 - to Rowell Sirois Commission
1944 - to Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting
1945 - to Ontario Royal Commission on Education
1945 - to Government of Canada
1946 - to Parliamentary Committee on Radio
1948 - to the Prime Minister
1949 - to the Massey Commission

The brief to the Rowell Sirois Commission advocated an expanded federal role in the field of education, offered the services of the CAAE in an advisory capacity and sought federal funds to support the CAAE. The briefs to the Government of Canada in 1945 and 1948 sought financial aid, on the earlier occasion for the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship, with which the CAAE worked closely, and in 1948, for the CAAE itself. The brief to the Ontario Royal Commission in 1945 put heavy stress on CAAE's role in citizenship education and sought a grant in support of the Association's work.

Two submissions on broadcasting policy, in 1944 and 1946, represented the continuation of Corbett's--and other CAAE members'--commitment to a broadcasting policy which gave priority to the public interest and the information and education function of broadcasting, over the private interest and private profit interests.[5] In 1944, the CAAE joined with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, its partner in Farm Radio Forum, in presenting a brief to the Special Parliamentary Committee on Radio Broadcasting. It spoke generally in support of the C.B.C., its performance and its role as both broadcaster and governor of the broadcasting system in the country, and referred particularly to the C.B.C.'s role in education for citizenship. In 1946, the CAAE appeared again before the parliamentary committee, this time appearing on

its own. It had used its Farm Radio and Citizens' Forum mailing network to urge other groups to make representations as well, (Faris 1975:117) a step which led to some criticism in the committee hearings and in the parliamentary debates. Again, the CAAE in its brief strongly supported the principle of public ownership and control of broadcasting and praised the C.B.C. for its efforts in citizenship education. It urged the committee to support the C.B.C. in both its regulative and operating functions.(Estall 1946)

The most ambitious submission made by the Association to any such body was that presented to the Massey Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, in July of 1949. The Association's journal, Food For Thought, frequently carried editorials and information notes about the Commission while it was at work. It had welcomed the creation of the Commission (Anon 1949) and stressed the relationship of its areas of concern to adult education. Reference has been made already to the use of the J.P.C. network to encourage responses from other organizations as well. The CAAE's submission consisted of 35 closely typed pages and covered a lot of ground. Among other matters touched upon, it sought financial support from the Federal Government for the Association; supported once again the performance of the C.B.C. and defended the existing arrangements under which the C.B.C. both ran its own operations and controlled the whole system--recommending a similar arrangement for television, which was on the horizon; strongly supported the National Film Board and described further work in the film field which it should be funded to undertake; and supported the creation of a National Commission for UNESCO (a cause CAAE had been promoting through Food For Thought and the J.P.C. for some time).(Clarke 1949) Borrowing from the language of its 1946 declaration, the submission stated that, "the CAAE believes 'the task of adult education is the imaginative training for citizenship'". It also said that "the destiny of adult education (and of Canadian democracy itself) is intimately connected with the way in which we manage our media of communication".(CAAE 1949:2) The two statements combined represent a form of summary of Corbett's work and views.

The Report of the Massey Commission, which appeared in 1951, gave some grounds for satisfaction in the CAAE. It was a landmark document in terms of cultural policy in Canada (Ostry 1978:64) and it placed the CAAE and its major adult education projects (making several references to them) in the context of the nation-building process. In this sense it supported the philosophical position of Corbett and others with respect to the basic mission of adult

education. The two Forum projects were praised by the Commission as "rewarding and distinctive Canadian programs" which "are of great value in making better citizens of us, in that they awaken our critical faculties".(Report 1951:37) The activity of the J.P.C. was also commended for its role in promoting co-operation among voluntary associations and between voluntary and government agencies.(Report 1951:74-5)

Summing up the Corbett Years

Ned Corbett led the CAAE from what the founders had foreseen, a clearing house body, to one which placed its chief emphasis on education for citizenship, through direct programming. Corbett was in the liberal democratic tradition and his view of education as it related to social action and change was to place the issues, with relevant information, before the people, leaving them free to choose the most appropriate course of action. The initial steps in moving the CAAE into citizenship education were taken before the war, but with the onset of World War II, this tendency was accelerated, and in association with other agencies in the same field, the C.B.C., the National Film Board, the Wartime Information Board, the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship and the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, the CAAE moved more vigorously and effectively into education for social change. In the midst of the war, at a time typified by a considerable body of radical thinking about reconstruction planning, the CAAE produced, in the 1943 Manifesto, a fairly radical statement of its goals and beliefs, the day having been carried by a relatively small number of the more doctrinaire figures in the counsels of the Association. And for at least twenty years thereafter, the CAAE was in some quarters seen as being a left-leaning organization. But by the end of the 1940s, the more radical leaders in the CAAE had given up on the organization and it continued in the hands of leadership which was committed to the idea of education for citizenship, but not as a means of producing a particular social policy. Corbett was a liberal democrat, but in the interests of producing a dynamic organization, he gave reign at times to some of the more radical figures interested in the organization.(Armstrong 1968)

Further perspective on Corbett's leadership and the course of action pursued by the CAAE is provided from two other sources. The first is an article by S.A. Wunder which appeared in the New York Times in 1941 and was reprinted in Food For Thought in December of that year. The author described

the striking contrast between the American national adult education body, which he saw to have retrenched in the wartime period, and the CAAE, which had taken on additional wartime responsibilities and whose program and activities were expanding rapidly.(Wunder 1941:15-16) In his memoirs, published in 1980, Robert England, who was working in Western Canada during the early years of the CAAE, saw at the time a related contrast between the two organizations. He had seen something of the work of the American organization:

> Its work was on a high plane and somewhat remote on occasion. Our new Canadian Association for Adult Education, while it emulated the older sister organization, had in Ned Corbett as its director a 'grass roots' practitioner of the art of adult education.(England 1980:68)

In his view, Corbett kept the CAAE in close touch with the rest of the field of practice--more a part of the field rather than just a service organization for the field.

The central themes which are clearly identifiable in Corbett's leadership of the CAAE are citizenship education, rural adult education and Canadian nationalism. The Forum projects, the J.P.C., the publications program and the other joint activities with the several other closely related organizations are clear evidence of his concern for all three areas. The period of his directorship of the CAAE, from the mid-thirties, through the war and into the post-war world, were exciting years for Canadians. The struggles of the depression, the remarkable achievements of Canadian industry and armed forces during the war, and Canada's emergence as a leading middle power in international affairs in the years after the war, were the basis for a new sense of Canadian identity and pride. Few, if any Canadian leaders, outside of government, played a more central and significant role during this turbulent period in helping Canadians come to a new sense of what it meant to be a Canadian, than did Ned Corbett. He molded the CAAE into an effective and flexible instrument to that end.

Footnotes

1. On the basis of the author's detailed research into adult education in British Columbia at that time, it is clear that those carrying out the research for Sandiford covered only some of the most obvious programs, giving emphasis in B.C. to the work of government agencies and the university.

2. This interpretation is based on the sources and also, in its essentials, on an interview with Roby Kidd on Nov. 20, 1979.

3. Roby Kidd had been expecting to return to Canada from Columbia University (where he was completing his doctorate) to head up the Canadian Council on Education for Citizenship, which was disbanded. The Carnegie official who was dealing with Corbett about the grant for the J.P.C. suggested to him that Kidd would be a suitable person to carry out the task.

4. The alternative interpretation is based on an interview with Roby Kidd on Nov. 20, 1979.

5. Corbett was also one of the active leaders of The Radio League, a private organization which had lobbied effectively for the creation of a public broadcasting system in Canada and which defended the interests of public broadcasting at every opportunity.

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